[illegible] candles, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of [illegible] soap, sweet-scented shaving cream, and deodorant alcohol (for preventing Primus stove and kerosene); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpicks, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except [illegible] and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Beirut or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clientele.

One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanese. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some politeness between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they are in competition, but you see [and here he paused quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic [Arab] "Arabs (Arabs) 9 means: "Every person for his fortune." Well, you know, a really smart merchant will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because here the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the Bible of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the Golden which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a generalized behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group [illegible]. Furthermore, some of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

Turning, now, to the function of the store as meeting place for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kahn (1936, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Mlaqat, there is no coffee house and the store to some extent take the

[illegible]

place of sun. Close friends of each gossipers frequently sit down with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are primarily social economic institutions, and they are immediately used as foci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Since the women more regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife with stable bread requirements does every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of hardwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmic slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in this cube is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the door there is a large stone slab raised almost a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

The women prepare her dough at home, making the necessary number of five-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "economic bread" which used to be made in Khanjil and can still be in and surely enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which they slide [illegible]

SECULAR RECREATION

IT should not be necessary to emphasize that the lines of the two previous chapters in order to acknowledge that there is much of what Americans would call "recreational behavior" which is tightly integrated with economic and religious behavior. Sports and festivities are foci of social interaction. Rites of passage and other rituals are occasions for parties and celebrations.

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what might be classified as "recreation for its own sake," behavior which is certainly recreational but does not appear to be closely integrated with any of the other cultural categories which have been discussed.

THE CLUB

The "Sport Club" of Mamjil is a new institution which appears to have been started for the sole purpose of organizing the leisure activities of adolescents and young adults. It is for any other purposes, such as political activity, no hint whatever was given of it.

PLAYS

We have seen that the club's headquarters is regularly used as an evening gathering place. It is also used for giving the annual village play in August. The village play antedates the club by many years, but the club seems to have taken over the greater part of the responsibility in putting it on. It is not clear exactly when the play was introduced into the village. Middle-aged adults were always to have remembered it, but though traditional Arab culture has something resembling plays—actually narrative poetry recited by several individuals—the dramatic phenomenon in the village seems closely to be part of the recent acculturative process.

Perhaps the account of the introduction of plays into Bidaimmin early in the twentieth century gives some idea of what happened in Mamjil. Tannous says that the play was introduced into Bidaimmin through the inspiration of returned emigrants, contact with city customs, and the encouragement of mission-school teachers. After a couple of years, girls started taking part, though over the strong objections of some elders. The play soon became a village festival with guests invited from other villages, the whole community taking part in one way or another. The plays were all in Classical Arabic, the plots all taken from Western novels or plays, or devised from Arabic historical events (Tannous, 1945, pp. 141–42).

[illegible] a coffee house, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private homes. There are several coffee house groups of friends in the village who commonly interact with each other.

[illegible] These evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but some other conversation is in addition to games. In our circle the most popular game is backgammon, played according to Cabadonian rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book, "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and shrewd and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "good" and "no money" are intermingled with Arabic exclamations and sub-vocals. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*zaud*) of which there are three versions, *shesh* (essentially the same as *checkers* but with eighty-squares), and *shesh* (*shisma*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word games are very popular also, and very frequently nothing is at stake but social interest in them. For example, someone will write a letter in their unconnected form in a row. The others are then asked to make some sort of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are typical of the whole (e.g., the order of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected script letters in English), puns, and shorter grammatical substitutions.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *gafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Interjections, provided they rime and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a rapid rate of speed for half an hour without a break.

[illegible] In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

[illegible] Those villagers who live and work away from Mamjil in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven modern families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "Little Mamjil" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have estab-

[illegible] with its urban surroundings was to have established very [illegible] among the rural inhabitants. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European habits (pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influences have been particularly strong in the field of communications. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to the lack of electricity, Mawiyh has only three battery-run radios, and their enjoyment is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "folk-picking" broadcasts. From the limited observations, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Mawiyh some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first existing influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance to all village girls. Aside from that, the two sexes in Bishmizeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sexes at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

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621 Within a few years the school became the focus
871 of village life. It seems that the mere physical
517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizeen, the village of education.

526 One more vital activity began to take place at
517 the school, involving the whole of the village com-
[177 munity and other villages, too. That was the ing of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

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536 517 erected, play acting materialized. At first only young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village could not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a kiss or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples!

834 562 336 578 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on the attitude of the village people towards acting by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 621 Within a few years acting became one more established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparation for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of casting, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, evening rehearsals, energetic arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

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17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)]1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the name of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until they are married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon, the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from undue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attend the same village school. Whenever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages of the mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to home-making. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadership and development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

Recreational activity, to one degree or another, is characteristic of many rural societies. This seems to be an essential need, biologically and socially, of human group life. By this means the group gives spontaneous expression, in symbolic form, to the fundamental values of its life and to its aspirations. The rural society of Lebanon is outstanding in this respect, having developed a rich recreational heritage that is well known in the Arabic-speaking world. Some aspects of this heritage have been carried to, and kept alive in, foreign countries by Lebanese emigrants. The Lebanese farmer is characterized by a well-developed sense of humor and a lively tendency to indulge in pranks. He loves to compose folk poetry and sing folk songs, when alone working in his fields or when in the company of friends. From his early childhood he learns to be a good folk dancer. At the same time his community life is characterized by an abundance of recreational expression.

Occasions for community festivities and group-play activity

17: Tannous S, G-S (ca. 1947-48)1949 3[illegible] Lebanon 3[illegible]

are numerous and varied. A large number of these are related to the religious life of the community. In addition to the regular weekly holiday and other general holidays of the Christians or Moslems, there are several community festivals held in honor of particular patron saints. Each of these festivals is an occasion for people of several villages to get together and celebrate, sometimes for two or three days at a time. They visit, trade, compete in games, compose folk poetry, participate in religious chanting or group singing, and dance the well-known folk dance, the *dabki*.

In a similar manner the people celebrate the harvesting of some of their crops. Also in the *sahra* they have a well-developed recreational institution: an evening get-together at one of the homes to visit, play games, or listen to a story being read or told. At the time of a wedding or a funeral, practically the whole community, old and young, halts its routine activities and participates in the affair. Here again the group manifests its solidarity and takes a new hold on life by expanding its happiness in the first case, and by lightening the burden of its sorrows in the second.

The village community of Lebanon is thus essentially a co-operative unit: in its family organization, in its traditions of neighborliness, in its religious institutions and social life, in its educational efforts. Co-operation, in one degree or another, is also involved in many agricultural activities such as the threshing of grain, the sharing of draft animals, and the assigning of water rights.

One can readily see in this a promising and secure foundation on which to establish a successful organization of agricultural co-operatives according to modern principles and techniques. In fact, a beginning has already been made along this line. In 1944 the Lebanese Government passed a decree providing for the establishment of a co-operative council, whose function is to guide and supervise the projected movement. The decree also covers various essential details of organization, obligations and rights of members, audit and inspection, and voting procedure.

The successful co-operative experiment of Abadiyeh village, in the mountains above Beirut, provides a striking demonstration of the manner in which such a developmental scheme can